

SCOTLAND'S STORY

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**How the shame of
Glencoe was born
of bitter divisions**

**Bloody massacre
we'll never forget**

**King of Scots
who only cared
for Holland**

**Trading basics
for luxury items**

**Parliament is
muzzled after
baring its teeth**



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ATLANTIC
OCEAN

1671

The Royal Botanic Garden in Edinburgh is founded.



1677

William of Orange marries James VII's daughter, Mary Stuart.



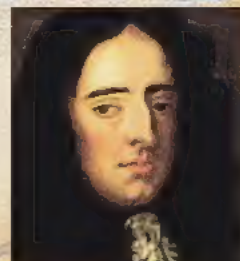
1682

Sir George Mackenzie founds the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh.



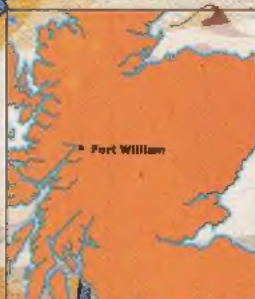
1691

August: William's Oath of Allegiance issued.



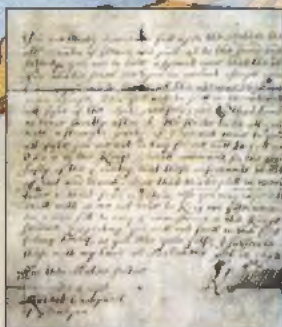
1690

William's government establishes a garrison at Fort William to 'police' the Highlands.



1692

February 11-12: William's government issues orders to 'execute' the MacDonalds of Glencoe



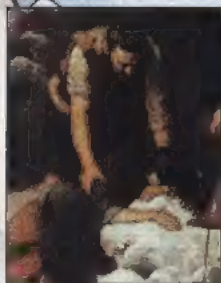
1691

December 28: Exiled James VII releases Highland clans from their commitment to him.



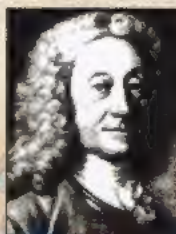
1692

February 13: 38 murdered in the 'Massacre of Glencoe'



1695

John Dalrymple, the Earl of Stair, is discredited after Government inquiry into the Glencoe massacre.



**In Part 29:
The Darien
Disaster**

PART OF
IRELAND

North
Channel

PART OF
ENGLAND



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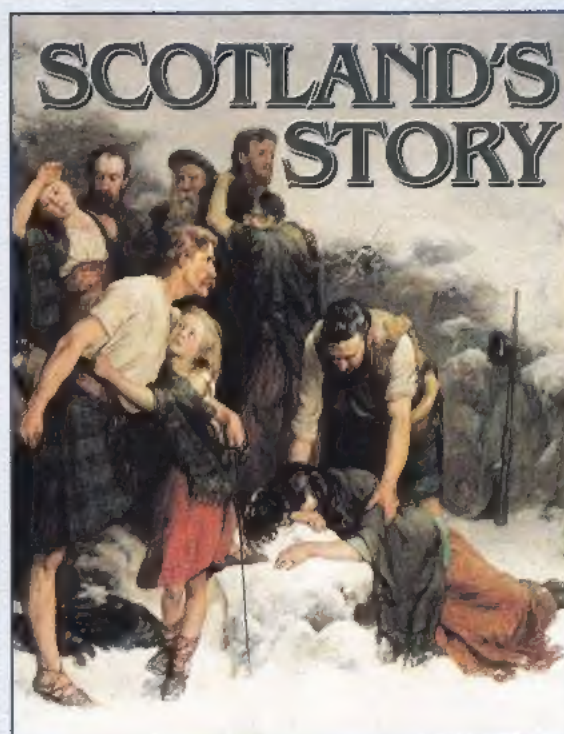
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COVER:
The Massacre of Glencoe was one of the most shameful chapters in Scotland's history. John Hamilton's 17th-century painting captures the anguish and despair of the survivors.

When barbarity reigned supreme

Glencoe is a word synonymous throughout the world with massacre. The terrible atrocity committed there in February 1692 owed little to Campbell-MacDonald hostility, and was instead more closely connected with the extreme ill-feeling harboured within King William's Scottish administration towards those sections of Scottish society that threatened its existence.

In the case of Glencoe, the offending party was an Episcopalian gaelic-speaking Highland clan.

Unfortunately for the MacLains of Glencoe, a cadet family of Clan Donald, they offended the Williamite regime on all counts – religious, cultural, geographic and linguistic.

For this they paid the ultimate price. From one perspective, the Massacre of Glencoe serves as a measure of how far ethnic and religious divisions had widened in Scotland since the Reformation.

When the tragic consequences of similar divisions in Europe in recent times are considered, the historical memory of Glencoe

becomes at once less distant and more uncomfortable.

Market crosses are still to be found in many old town centres in Scotland. In the 17th century they were the centre of trade in the burghs that serviced the economic requirements of the countryside around them and drove commercial development forward. A varied palette of commodities were sold at markets across Scotland. Woollens, textiles, and fish were traded along with coal, salt, and beer. And the nation's domestic trade was complemented by an extensive trading relationship with England, other nations in Europe – and America.

Trade of a different sort, but one which also thrived on the channels of commerce, was the trade in ideas and cultural refinement. For a long time Scotland has been wrongly conceived of as a cultural outcast beyond the fringe of wider European society. The truth is that the Scots had a voracious appetite for new ideas and innovations from other parts of the Continent in the 1600s, and indeed made contributions of their own.

A divided nation sows

The fading of the Jacobite army and buying-off of Highland chiefs set the scene for a grim denouement

Glencoe is an emotive word, as well as the record of a grim incident. The first serves to summarise what is seen as the baneful impact of British politics on tensions within Scotland: Scots killed Scots because of the English link.

But to understand Glencoe, you have to probe the dynamic processes of this relationship. This is particularly necessary because, as Scotland changes politically, with independence (whatever that means within the European Union) coming closer than a prospect, so the relationship between inter-British and inter-Scottish tensions will require re-examination.

In particular, the extent to which collective hostility to an outside link — more specifically to Westminster and Whitehall — can still serve to distract attention from tensions within Scottish society is questionable.

This parallels the assessment on the cusp of the 17th and 18th centuries. Relations with the outer world and the problems they entailed were of course important and will be addressed here; but it should not be forgotten that tensions within Scotland, crucially over religion, were the key dynamic in the hatred and bitterness of the period, as indeed they had been for over a century.

Scotland suffered more divisiveness as a consequence of the Reformation than any other part of the British Isles, for English, Irish and Welsh society did not suffer internal discord to match that in Scotland. The problems in Ireland came from external pressures — particularly, but not only, the 'plantation' of Scots in Ulster.

By 1688, when James VII (and II of England) was challenged by his son-in-law and nephew, William III of Orange, the legacy of religious division had become even greater.

The Covenanter movement had led to an upsurge of violence in Scotland and the governmental response had very much entailed the large-scale employment of force. With the



Glencoe's bitter seeds



■ William of Orange landed at Torbay on November 5, 1688 ... and by May of the following year he was King of Scotland.



■ Hugh Mackay led the Williamite army that collapsed at Killiecrankie.

► Restoration of Charles II in 1660 had come that of the Scottish Parliament, episcopacy and aristocratic power and influence. This was widely resisted.

About one-third of the Scottish parish ministers were unwilling to accept the new religious settlement. Nonconformist conventicles acted as centres of defiance. Government attempts to suppress them led to unsuccessful rebellions in 1666 and 1679-80.

James, Duke of York, the future James VII, was based in Edinburgh in 1679-82. Holyrood Palace was rebuilt as a centre of Stuart power, and the Test Act of 1681 obliged all ministers and office-holders to repudiate Covenants.

When James came to the throne there were rebellions in both Scotland and England. In each case the rebel leader returned from exile in the United Provinces (the modern Netherlands) and sought to overthrow Stuart rule. In England, the Duke of Monmouth was defeated at Sedgemoor.

In Scotland, Archibald Campbell, ninth Earl of Argyll landed with about 300 men but, like Monmouth, increased his force considerably after landing.

Argyll's operations were affected by divided counsels and the speed of the governmental response, including the appearance of two frigates. His position was also weakened by the donation of his

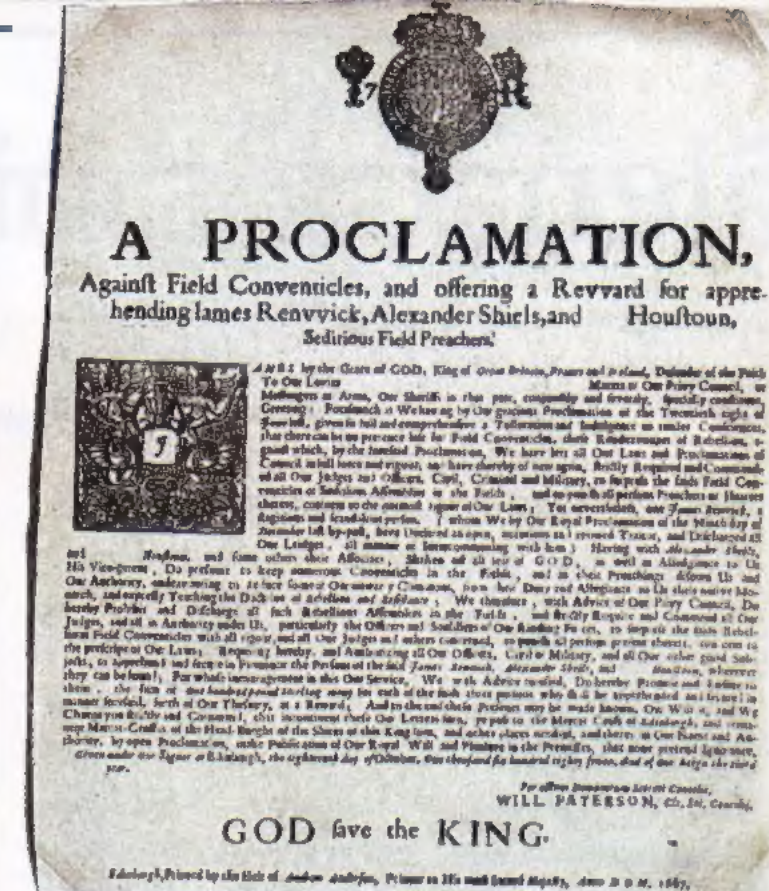
confiscated jurisdictions to rivals. Argyll's force disintegrated, and he was captured and beheaded.

King James VII was not to be overthrown until 1688-9. William of Orange's successful invasion of southern England was followed by James's expulsion from London. In Scotland his authority also collapsed.

On April 4, 1689, the Convention of the Scottish Estates resolved that James had not abdicated, but had forfeited the throne through his misdemeanours. A Claim of Right laying down fundamental constitutional principles and attacking episcopacy was accepted on April 11 and was followed by the proclamation of William and Mary as joint monarchs.

If this proclamation had been acceptable, Scotland would have been peaceful. However, the settlement now proposed threatened the views and interests of much of Scotland. In particular, the Presbyterians were not as numerous as they claimed to be. Only William of Orange's backing, which arose from opposition by the Episcopalians to the transfer of the Crown, made them strong. The Episcopalians always claimed to be the majority.

On April 16, 1689, John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, the most active of James's Scottish supporters, raised James's standard outside Dundee. Claverhouse, a Lowland Scot who had experience of counterinsurgency against the Covenanters, had been appointed



■ A Privy Council proclamation of 1684 challenges the Cameronians.

Commander-in-Chief of the army in Scotland by James in December, 1688.

Although Dundee captured Perth on May 10, he was initially very short of men: on May 8 he had only about 200. He retired into the Highlands to obtain recruits, pursued by the Williamite army under Hugh Mackay of Scourie. The two clashed on July 27 at the Pass of Killiecrankie while seeking to control Blair Castle in Perthshire — which commanded a crucial north-south route through the Highlands.

A Highland charge from higher ground won the battle for the outnumbered Dundee, but he was shot dead. Furthermore, victory cost the Jacobites 1,000 casualties. The high casualties reflected the willingness of both to fight hand-to-hand, which was extremely dangerous.

Victory led the doubtful clans to rally to James's cause. Dundee's successor, Colonel Alexander Cannon, found himself in command of 5,000 men, but his indecisiveness and swift moves by Mackay kept the Jacobites out of Aberdeen and Perth. The dynamic of success, so crucial in any rebellion that seeks to take over a state, had been lost.

A Lowland Scot who lacked experience of Highland warfare, Cannon refused to engage Mackay and, instead, attacked an apparently vulnerable garrison of untrained Cameronian Covenanters at Dunkeld, only to be repulsed in street-fighting on August 21, 1689.

Cannon was replaced by Major-

General Thomas Buchan, but he was surprised and defeated on May 1, 1690, by Mackay's cavalry on the Haughs of Cromdale. The Jacobites had lost the ability to secure victory, so crucial to their supporters' morale, as well as the initiative.

Loss of support and Mackay's advance eventually led Buchan to retreat into the mountains in Lochaber. There his forces dwindled.

The Jacobite army fell to fewer than 1,000 men and they posed no major threat to the Williamite position. Indeed William was more concerned about Ireland, where he campaigned in person in 1690.

During that same summer, a naval force commanded by Edward Pottinger, an Ulster naval commodore, savagely attacked Clanranald lands on the Hebridean island of Eigg. The clan's fighting men were away, and there were rapes as well as murders.

The exact number of victims is not known, and the atrocity — in many respects a worse act of state terrorism than Glencoe — is little known because it was successfully covered up.

Most of the Highland chiefs swore allegiance to William in late 1691, a process facilitated by indemnity, bribes and being allowed to obtain the permission of James.

The failure of the chief of the MacDonalds of Glencoe to swear the oath before the deadline of January 1, 1692, provided the immediate context for the terrible events that followed. ●

Blizzard of carnage



■ The bleeding, weeping glen: John Hamilton's dramatic 19th-century painting, *The Massacre of Glencoe*, captures the survivors' anguish and despair.

Glencoe is more than a place to Scots. It's a word which – because of the infamous massacre there – sparks anger and shame. Who were the guilty ones?

Glencoe is an eight-mile east-west sword slash through Argyll's highest mountains. It tumbles from the 3,345ft rock tower of the Buachaille Etive Mor on the edge of Rannoch Moor through soaring, sawblade canyons to Loch Leven at sea level. In summer its high tops can turn arctic in a trice, in winter its blizzards are awesome and frequently lethal.

It is important to appreciate Glencoe's imposing landscape, its grandeur and scale, the aura and emotions it engenders to put into

perspective the foul massacre of the MacDonalds that took place there on February 13, 1692. That infamous day of butchery when Campbells fell upon MacDonald clansmen as they slept in their beds, after accepting Highland hospitality and friendship for 12 days, is an unforgiven stain on Scotland's story. But the Campbells involved were under government orders and although there was bad blood with scores to settle between the two clans, the dark event had little to do with revenge in an ancient feud.

Here was a plan, scripted at the highest level, with King William of

Orange himself a signatory to the MacDonalds' 'extirpation'.

From the early 14th century, after the clan gave support to King Robert Bruce, Glencoe had been a MacDonald stronghold. Perhaps they were the smallest group of the great Clan Donald, but no less proud of their Lords of the Isles ancestry or more ready to defend their name.

With its wild terrain and hidden valleys, Glencoe was also the natural hideaway for cattle they plundered from the surrounding area. Glencoe MacDonalds – or, more specifically, MacIains – were known as bold ▶

► raiders and consummate cattle rustlers. They mustered around 150 warriors, which meant there were up to 500 MacDonalds in the glen.

Some of their forays took them to Campbell country in Glen Lyon and Breadalbane, from where they returned to Glencoe with some fine horses, black Highland cattle and even prized household belongings. The ageing Alasdair MacDonald – Maclain as he was known – distinguished by his great height, flowing white main, beard and curling moustache, was chief in Glencoe at the time.

In his younger days, clad for war, he cut a fearsome figure. His clansmen regarded him still as a strong leader, a man of worth, with courage, dignity and integrity.

But those on the receiving end of MacDonald raiding parties viewed him in a different light. To them he was simply a murderer and thief. To the supporters of King William, Maclain was also a dangerous Highland warlord to be shackled.

The Highlands remained restless and other neighbouring clans, such as the Appin Stewarts, the Camerons of Lochiel, the MacDonalds of Keppoch and of Glengarry were pledged to return the deposed and exiled James VII to the throne.

It was with this in mind that the influential John Campbell of Glenorchy, Earl of Breadalbane, and one of Scotland's leading clan chiefs, proposed raising a Scottish militia to keep the Highland peace.

Trouble from the clans was the last thing William wanted as he waged war against France's Louis XIV. Peace at his back and a new source of Scottish recruits were attractive propositions and he gave the plan his blessing. At a rancorous meeting at Achallader in Perthshire, the clan chiefs finally agreed terms for a Scottish military force in June, 1691, helped by a promised £12,000 for the free purchase of their lands. In return, the chiefs were to sign an oath of allegiance to William by January 1, 1692. The countdown to the Massacre of Glencoe had begun.

There was slippage from the beginning. Doubts arose over what had been agreed and it took an inordinate time to circulate the order. There was no sign of the promised money and when the order was eventually posted, it had been substantially edited. It declared threateningly that unless the oath was taken before the deadline the "utmost extremity of the law" would be brought to bear on those who had not signed. There had also been assurances that the clans would be



■ Here the blood once flowed like a mountain stream: the starkly beautiful Glencoe where, on that fateful day in 1692

released from their oath of loyalty to James before swearing support for William. James waited until December 12 before finally releasing the clans from their commitment. It was now perilously close to the deadline.

Already Secretary of State John Dalrymple, Master of Stair, was preparing to strike against the waverers. A Protestant Lowlander and able lawyer, the ambitious Stair had no liking for the clans. In his

view, they impeded progress in Scotland. Here was a golden opportunity to plot their downfall and make an example of that "sept of thieves" – the MacDonalds.

Fate played into his hands. It was not until December 28 that word came from France that the clans were absolved from their oath to James. Three days were left to the deadline. Stair's main target was the powerful MacDonald of Glengarry,

but he realised he did not have the military resources to ensure it. Failure could even rally the clans.

Fate played further cards. Winter began to snarl around Glencoe. By December 31 Maclain, suddenly fearful he would miss the deadline, headed for Fort William in deteriorating weather to take the oath. His trip was in vain.

Colonel John Hill at Fort William explained it had to be taken before a



In Edinburgh the hearts had hardened and lawyers took no responsibility for an oath delivered late

had reasonable relations with the clans, but his second-in-command Lieutenant-Colonel James Hamilton, an Irish Protestant and tough professional soldier, was in Stair's confidence and took charge of the operation. Sixty-year-old Captain Robert Campbell of Glenlyon, who had lost both his estate and dignity at the card tables, commanded two companies of Argyll's regiment, about 140 soldiers; and Major Robert Duncanson led a further 400 Argyll men.

The plan was simple – the Glencoe MacDonalds were to be slaughtered. The 900 troops available were to be in place to block all escape routes – Campbell from the south; Duncanson at the entrance to the glen; Hamilton marching from Fort William up the Devil's Staircase to seal the south and east. Campbell of Glenlyon was the first to move.

On February 1 with Captain Thomas Drummond, he marched his two companies from Ballachulish to the entrance of Glencoe. They were spotted immediately and Maclain was warily ready for their coming.

But the soldiers arrived as friends, they said, and Glenlyon was affable. It was explained the fort was full and quarters were sought in Glencoe while the winter weather blew its worst. With a smile and handshake, Highland hospitality was asked for and given. Accommodation was provided in the MacDonalds' cramped cottages and for 12 days Campbell's men were MacDonald guests.

Unknown to Maclain, between February 11 and 12 a flurry of written orders was confirming his fate: Stair's final instruction to Hill; Hill to Hamilton; Hamilton to Duncanson at Ballachulish to implement action at seven in the morning; and finally Duncanson to Glenlyon, who was still enjoying Maclain's hospitality. It read:

You are hereby ordered to fall upon the rebels, the MacDonalds of Glencoe, and to put all to the sword under seventy.

You are to have a special care that the old fox and his sons do upon no account

sheriff. He must hurry the 60 miles to the Campbell capital of Inveraray, he was advised. Armed with a letter, the exhausted and increasingly concerned Maclain headed once more down Loch Linnhe with time running out.

Maclain could have beaten the deadline had it not been for two events. Firstly, he was intercepted by men of Argyll's regiment and a critical 24 hours was lost before he

was allowed to continue. Secondly, when he arrived at Inveraray, Sheriff Sir Colin Campbell was not at home. It was January 5 before he returned and only Maclain's pleadings made the sheriff reluctantly accept the oath late. He sent it to Edinburgh with a further covering letter. Maclain, relieved and at last feeling secure, made his way home to Glencoe.

But in Edinburgh the hearts had

hardened. The lawyers would not take responsibility for an oath delivered late. Stair was gifted his opportunity. The key players for the drama that followed were in place: Stair, the arch plotter, was now supported for military action by Breadalbane; Sir Thomas Livingstone, Viscount of Teviot, the Commander-in-Chief, took his instructions from Stair; Colonel John Hill, Governor of Fort William,

a raging snowstorm covered the tracks of fleeing MacDonalds. It is now largely owned by the National Trust for Scotland.

fall upon the Rebels, the
 MacDonalds of Glencoe, and putt all to the sword under
 seventy. you are to hold a speciall word that the old
 Fox and his sons doe upon no account scape your
 hands. And to secure all the avenues that no
 man escape. This you are to putt in execution
 att fyve of the clock precisely; and by that time
 or very shortly after it, I'll strive to be att you
 with a stronger party: if I doe not come to you
 att fyve, you are not to tarry for me, butt to fall on.
 This is by the Kings speciall command, for the good
 safety of the Country, that these miscreants be cutt
 off root and branch. See that this be putt in execu-
 tion without feild or favour, else you may expect to
 be dealt with as one not true to King nor Government,
 nor a man fitt to carry Commissions in the Kings
 service. Expecting you will not fail in the full-
 filling hereof, as you love your selfe, I subscribe
 this with my hand att Ballochobie Feb: 12, 1692.
 For these Matters subscribed.
 Do Capt
 Robert Campbell
 of Glenlyon.

■ 'Take action on Glencoe' instruction to Glenlyon signed by Major Robert Duncanson. The National Library of Scotland sells facsimiles.

'You are hereby ordered to fall upon the rebels, the MacDonalds of Glencoe, and put all to the sword under seventy'

► escape your hands. You are to secure all the avenues that no man escape.

This you are to put in execution at five of the clock precisely; and by that time, or very shortly after it, I'll strive to be at you with a stronger party. If I do not come to you at five, you are not to tarry for me, but to fall on.

This is by the king's special command, for the good and safety of the country, that these miscreants be cut off root and branch.

See that this be put into execution without feud or favour, else you may expect to be dealt with as one not true to king nor Government, nor a man fit to

carry Commission in the King's service.

(signed) Robert Duncanson.

Whether the confusion in the times for the assault was inadvertent or intentional remains arguable, but it effectively turned Glenlyon and his men into the executioners.

The night of February 13 brought a Glencoe blizzard at its most ferocious, a whiteout of horizontal snow that blinded, drifted and howled – and it was during the storm that the slaughter began.

MacLain was one of the first victims. Awakened with the soldiers at his door, he was shot while pulling

on his trews and still in his nightshirt.

When his wife threw herself over his dead body she was stripped naked, her rings were bitten from her fingers, it is said, and both were dragged outside.

The sounds of massacre were dulled in the swirling snow – the gunshots, shouts, screams as pikes were driven home, women wailing, the crackling of flames where homes were set ablaze.

The killing was systematic. Cottage doors burst open, MacDonald clansmen were shot or bayoneted



■ There were plotters aplenty but the dreadful deed was done by soldiers led by Robert Campbell of Glenlyon.



■ Nearby monumental tribute to Alasdair MacLain, the Chief of Glencoe, who 'fell with his people'.

under their own roofs or hauled outside to meet the same end. Some were bound then executed, their bodies cast on dunghoops. Glenlyon himself had a hand in this process while Drummond in particular carried out his orders without mercy.

In the light of dawn, but with the snow still obliterating sight, sound and footprints of fleeing MacDonalds, the body count totalled 38, including women and some children.

From a military standpoint the action was a botch. Both MacLain's sons escaped. Many of the clan, some still in their night clothes, endured intolerable hardship in exposed corries and glens for days, but most survived.

MacLain's elderly wife, snatched from the carnage, died in the open

on a hillside. Almost certainly some of the soldiers alerted the families with whom they had been staying.

When Hamilton and Duncanson's forces arrived it was all over. Their lateness was put down to the blizzard, but certainly in the case of Duncanson, who had only to march from Ballachulish, the excuse was lame.

So Glenlyon's men, by chance or design, were in the end the sole executioners. The storm abated, the sky brightened, and by afternoon the soldiers marched on, taking what MacDonald booty they could carry and many horses and cattle. Glencoe was left silent. But a new storm arose when the massacre became known.

Even in an age when life was still cheap the killings were seen as an atrocity. Public opinion forced a commission of inquiry and later the

Scottish Parliament decided the massacre was properly a case of murder. Stair was damned by his letters as the main instigator and resigned; Livingstone and Hill were tried and acquitted.

Then that useful all-embracing get-out clause "as Your Majesty shall think fit" came into play and there was no further action.

Glencoe was never the same. The barbarity of the murders in breach of Highland hospitality has somehow sunk into the psyche. The historian, Lord MacAuley, called it the "*Glen of Weeping .. melancholy, brooding, the very Valley of the Shadow of Death*".

In fact, Glencoe is like any other Highland glen. It is the scale of treachery and the useless slaughter that took place there that makes people think otherwise. ●

TIMELINE

1690

July 1-4: James flees to France after heavy defeat by Williamite forces at the Battle of the Boyne in Ireland.

1690

July 12: Jacobites lose again to King William's army at the Battle of Aughrim in Ireland.

1690

December: William establishes garrison at Fort William as part of bid to control the Highlands.

1691

June: Highland clan chiefs agree to support William in war against Louis XIV of France.

1691

August: Highland chiefs must sign an oath of allegiance to William by January 1, 1692.

1691

December 12: Exiled James VII releases the clans from their commitment to him.

1691

December 28: Word received from France that clans are absolved from oath to James.

1691

December 31: Alasdair MacLain, Chief of MacDonalds of Glencoe, heads for Fort William to take the oath.

1692

February 11-12: Orders given to Campbells of Glenlyon 'to fall upon the rebels, the MacDonalds of Glencoe, and to put all to the sword under seventy'.

1692

February 13: The Massacre of Glencoe. The body count reaches 38, including women and children.

TRADE IN 1600

Basic trading that Scots taste of the



■ The Bordeaux arrived in barrel-loads at the port of Leith. Average consumption of French wine was little lower than bigger, wealthier England.

brought good life



In European trading terms Scotland was a little player in the 17th century – but home-grown products could deliver luxury goods

Scotland's overseas trade in 1600 retained a Medieval character, being based on the export of the basic products of agriculture, fishing and mining, along with some poor-quality manufactures such as cheap linen and woollen cloth. In return, Scotland imported a wide range of manufactured items and luxury goods, together with some essential raw materials like timber.

The country's main trading partners still lay around the North Sea – tried and tested markets which minimised the element of risk to Scottish merchants. Scandinavia and the Baltic supplied many commodities on which the development of Scottish industry depended. For a country almost stripped of forests, apart from in remote Highland areas, Norwegian timber was vital for every form of construction from the barrels in which herring and salmon were exported to the ships that carried them, accounting for one cargo in three coming into Dundee in the early 17th century.

Sweden provided iron, flax, hemp, pitch and tar. From the southern shores of the Baltic came emergency imports of rye when the Scottish harvest failed and famine threatened. In return, Scotland exported salt, fish, hides and cloth.

Trade with France still benefited from the friendly glow of the 'Auld Alliance' though, after the Union of 1603, this cooled somewhat, especially when Scotland was dragged unwillingly into war with France in 1626. Northern France supplied a range of products from high-quality cloth to weapons, while salt and especially wine came from Bordeaux. The Scots' partiality for wine was extraordinarily average: consumption was little lower than that of England, a far wealthier country. By 1600 well over half a million gallons of wine were imported each year, and some Scots economists were concerned about the drain on foreign exchange.

Trade with the Low Countries put Scottish merchants in direct contact

with Europe's greatest commercial centres. In return for a wide range of manufactures, the Dutch provided an outlet for Scots fish, coal, salt, and cheap cloth. Scotland's other main trading partner, growing rapidly in importance, was England.

The Reformation in 1560 and then the Union of the Crowns in 1603 had converted England into an ally, by no means completely trusted, but with converging interests. Cattle, cloth and coal were major exports, either overland across the Border or via the east coast to London.

Scottish overseas trade was carried out using vessels often of only 50 or 60 tons burden. There were dangers from privateers and pirates as well as from storm and shipwreck. Scottish merchants were mostly small-scale operators who grouped together to share in the cargo carried by any vessel, so reducing the risk of disaster. Coastal trade – such as coal and salt from the Firth of Forth or grain from the North East – was undertaken by even smaller boats and barks, vessels which sometimes doubled up as fishing boats.

The early 17th century saw Scotland's population growing, her industries expanding, and modest prosperity starting to spread some way down the social scale. Trade increased and the profits of it came more and more into the hands of a small elite group of Edinburgh 'merchant princes'. By the opening of the 17th century they had cornered over three quarters of Scotland's export trade. They invested the profits in a range of activities, including farming, building tenements on the capital's High Street, and developing industries.

This in turn gave the merchants a portfolio of investments which lessened the risk of financial disaster.

Many of the bigger and more sophisticated merchants were involved in the coal trade, a sphere of activity that became increasingly important in the 'central belt' during the 17th century. Those coal deposits that were near the surface and close to the sea, being the most



■ Scots wool was appreciated by the Flemish and French as their woollen trade (as in *The Blessing of Lendit Fair*) created Europe's first industrial revolution.

- easily cut and transported by ship, were the most readily exploited

Leading the way were the coal fields of the Forth basin, with workings all along the northern shore of the Forth estuary from Alloa in Clackmannanshire to Pittenweem in Fife

Along the southern shore coal seams were worked from Port Seton to Bo'ness. All around East Lothian there were surface outcroppings of coal – mainly exposed parts of the area's famous 'Jewel' coal seam and exploitation reached as far

inland as Pencatland. The enterprising Sir John Clerk of Penicuik and Sir George Bruce of Culross were known to have coal hewing operations on a large scale. Some workings in the Lothian area were said to have extended for at least a mile under ground.

The Clyde and Ayrshire fields were worked with much less intensity, although around Glasgow there was a peak of mining activity, as there was at Saltcoats and Irvine on the coast.

Hand in hand with the coal trade came those industries that directly

benefited from coal – such as salt-boiling, an industry which in turn produced a key prop to several other economic concerns.

Several Edinburgh merchants owned salt pans and coal mines around the Forth and the boom in salt production early in the 17th century was probably the result of their activities.

The salt-making operation at Prestonpans – its name derived from its ancient salt-panning industry – relied on the coal quarried from nearby Prestongrange. The Lothian

coal fields benefited commercial glass, candle and soap production, sugar boiling and brewing in Leith.

Glasgow, too, experienced a growth in these industries during the 1600s.

William Dick, perhaps the greatest of these merchant princes, had a huge headquarters in Edinburgh's High Street with interests in brewing, herring curing and soap-making as well as trading.

Domestic trade in 17th-century Scotland was dominated by the towns, or burghs, which played a crucial role as centres of commerce.



■ Since the Middle Ages, sheep have been the livelihood of many Scots, especially in the Highland and Islands where flocks are still ferried in open boats.

for the surrounding countryside Aberdeenshire was the centre of the largest woollen textile industry in the country, producing plaiding and stockings. Montrose, Dundee and Perth were centres of linen weaving. St. Johnstone's fair at Perth was the largest market for linens in the east of Scotland.

The heart of the town was the mercat cross, its vital organs the merchants that plied their trade at the cross. Goods flowed in and out of these vibrant centres of economic activity through the town gates and quaysides.

The town quays also serviced the fishing industry. Fisheries provided crucial sustenance during bad years, or in the months leading up to harvest. The Forth and Clyde estuaries were home to the centres of the country's herring industry – Anstruther, Crail, Dunbar and Greenock. The Don and the Tay, meanwhile, were famous for their salmon fisheries.

By the time King Charles I visited Scotland in 1633, the economic boom was ending and imports were falling. Desperate for ways of raising money without calling an English Parliament, Charles squeezed Scottish merchants ever harder with taxes.

The outbreak of the Covenanter Wars in 1638 heralded the start of 15 disastrous years, during which the Scottish economy virtually collapsed. William Dick, having donated most



■ A 14th-century export slump meant most wool was spun for home use.

of his fortune to the Covenanter cause, died a pauper in prison.

Cromwell's regime brought stability, though not prosperity, a survey of Scotland's ports in 1656 by Thomas Tucker, an English customs official, makes dismal reading.

Scotland gained little economic benefit from its shotgun wedding with England under Cromwell which brought free trade but massive taxation.

Economic revival was delayed by wars with the Dutch in 1652-54, 1665-7 and 1672-4. Recovery after the Restoration was slow.

With the memory of William Dick's fate clearly in their minds, Scottish merchants were very cautious and careful not to over-expand. The

1670s represented a boom decade with a great increase in Scottish shipping and trade which provided a spin-off into activities like industry and new harbour schemes. But the 1680s were less prosperous.

Tariff barriers were going up across Europe as Scotland's trading partners imposed increasingly protectionist policies, though there were odd good years – such as 1685, when a bumper harvest in Scotland coincided with higher grain prices abroad.

Slowly, Scotland's traditional markets for exports dried up and, in such a poor country, the domestic market could not be expanded rapidly.

Foreign trade was vital to Scotland, but her contribution to the European

economy was marginal, Scottish traders were small-scale operators by European standards.

Scotland lacked the harbours that could accommodate the larger vessels which were becoming normal on other trade routes. Leith, Aberdeen and Dundee, the main east coast ports, all had poor harbour facilities and insufficient funds to improve them.

In the later 17th century many landowners were active in trade and industry. Those in Galloway and the more accessible parts of the Highlands were involved in cattle droving; east coast proprietors in the export from their estates of grain, coal and salt.

As foreign markets declined, trade with England became increasingly important, yet this was handicapped by the English navigation laws, and by substantial tariffs on many Scottish commodities.

Glasgow's merchants, looking for new outlets, began to trade illegally with England's colonies in North America and the Caribbean, importing tobacco and sugar and sending in return linen, woollens and hardware.

In the 1690s, Scottish merchants considered establishing an overseas colony to boost the nation's economy – something that had already been attempted with limited success in North America in the 1620s.

The result was the infamous 'Darien' scheme of 1695.





Home thoughts from abroad

Scotland in the 17th century has been called a backwater – unfairly, for it was anything but. It was outward-looking and open to foreign ideas

Not so long ago historians depicted 17th-century Scotland as a cultural backwater – inward-looking, obsessed by Calvinist religion and governed by squabbling and self-interested nobles.

Research carried out over the past two decades has altered this picture, however. Evidence has been uncovered of ambitious groups and individuals within Scottish society who were anxious to join with and learn from the richer and, in some respects, more advanced neighbours.

The impact was mainly at the elite level, although lairds and merchants were also involved in what was mainly a flow of ideas. Those who benefited most were the professionals – mostly lawyers, physicians and surgeons, but also mathematicians, map-makers and others.

It was largely from these upper levels of society that the leadership was drawn for Scotland's efforts to modernise and



■ Sir Francis Bacon: his ideas were among those studied at Scotland's four universities

► shake off the poverty which was holding back its growth.

Even though Scotland had four universities in the 17th century (compared to England's two), Scots students had long travelled abroad to study, many having gone to France and Italy in the 16th century.

From the mid-17th century there was a sharp rise in the numbers attending the University of Leiden in the Netherlands, many of whom became lawyers in Scotland. Utrecht and Groningen received Scots too, who were anxious to widen their intellectual horizons and who often studied other subjects along with law.

They wanted a polite education, in keeping with

their social aspirations. Leiden was one of the best and biggest universities in Europe, to which scholars flocked from other countries.

The Protestant Dutch Republic was economically and culturally the most advanced state in Europe. It was also the most urbanised. It provided models – in politics, shipping and shipbuilding, fishing, and agriculture, for instance – which many influential Scots wished to copy.

Some of the Scots who trained at Leiden and indeed at other European universities made indelible marks on Scottish society. An example is Sir Robert Sibbald, educated at Paris and Leiden, who founded what was to become the Royal Botanic Garden (1671) in Edinburgh and in 1681

the Royal College of Physicians. James Gregory, professor of mathematics at the University of St Andrews, studied at Marischal College, Aberdeen, moved to London, and later spent three years mainly studying geometry at Padua in Italy. In 1673, at St Andrews, he founded the first astronomical observatory in Britain.

Scottish university teachers were quick to include the new thinking by men like Bacon, Descartes and even Newton in their classes, so that by 1700 most Scottish science teaching was judged to be as good as anything in Europe.

Dutch influences in Scotland were also found in art and architecture. The painter Jacob de Wet was one of many who were brought across from Holland to Scotland. De Wet first arrived in 1673 and between 1683 and 1686 he painted a sequence of Scottish kings at Holyrood. He also took other commissions, including the chapel at Glamis, and life-size portraits of the Earl of Strathmore and his family. His work can still be seen today.

So too can that of another Dutchman, John Slezer, a military engineer and surveyor who published his engraved views of the great Scottish houses and towns in *Theatrum Scotiae* (1693).

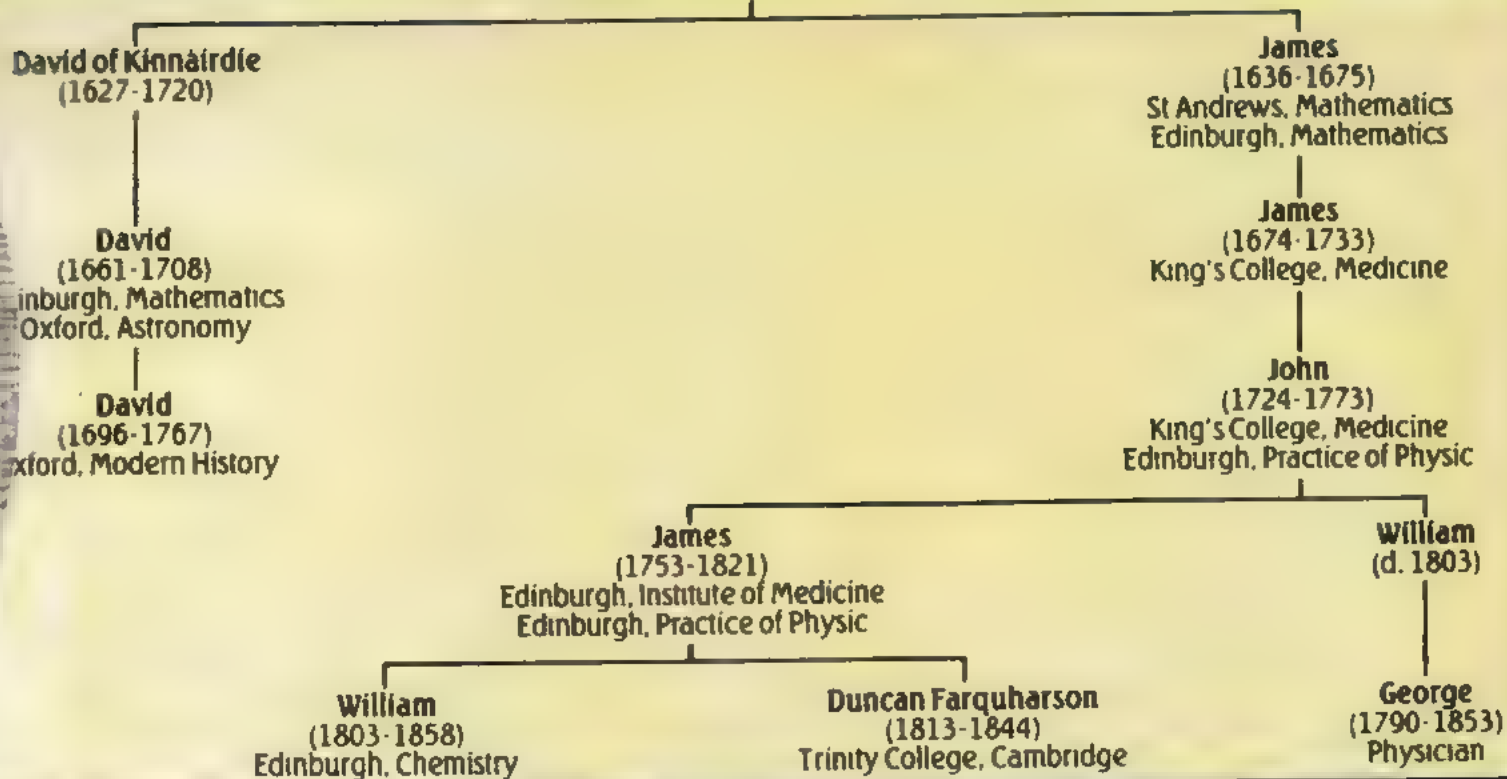
Equally significant is the influence men like de Wet had on Scottish painters. Others were brought from France, Germany and elsewhere in this period. Still-life and genre painting (detailed studies of everyday life) formed part of the Dutch legacy, and more Scottish artists began to make reputations abroad.

William Gouws Ferguson even worked in Holland for much of his life. Many buildings of the period also owed much to Dutch influences, particularly in the towns, as in the case of Edinburgh's Canongate Kirk, begun in 1689.

The period from the Restoration to the Union



John Gregorie of Drumoak = Janet Anderson



■ Family tree of achievement: featuring James Gregory, who – after education in England and Italy – founded Britain's first astronomical observatory at St Andrews.



■ The Bank of Scotland was set up to facilitate the long-term development of the country.

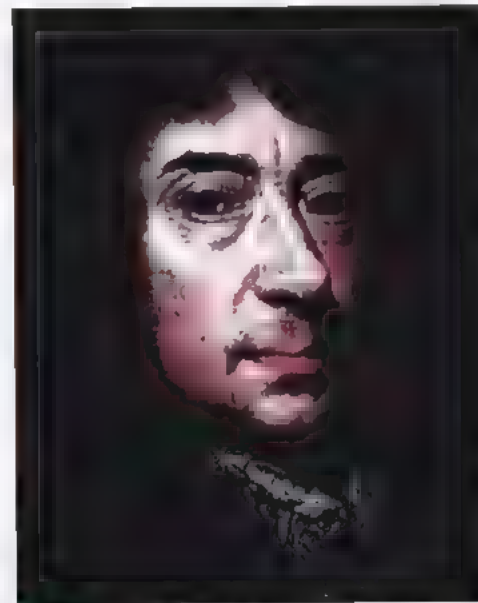
Some Scots, who trained at Leiden and other European universities came home to make indelible marks on Scottish society

of 1707 saw the establishment of several societies and institutions which reflected Scotland's cultural progress, the strengthening of the professions, and laid a basis for future development. Thus the status of lawyers rose as increasingly they were drawn from the families of peers and the landed gentry

One of their number, Sir George Mackenzie, founded the Advocates' Library between 1680 and 1682. A century later it was one of the best in Europe. Scots law, too, was systematically, studied, codified and published in volumes such as Viscount Stair's *Institutions of the Laws of Scotland* (1681), to which judges and advocates could turn for guidance.

Indeed, a telling sign that cultural transformation was taking place was the increase in the printing and publishing of books in Scotland. Those that were bought outwith Scotland tended to come from Holland, Germany and France.

What was read, too, had changed since 1660. Signs of economic ambition were seen in the numbers of books published on improvement and agriculture in the 1690s. It was through an



■ Mackenzie: founded the Advocates' Library.

understanding of what was required for long-term development of Scotland and the personal estates of its landed leadership that the Bank of Scotland was founded in 1695, only one year after the Bank of England.

As one historian has written recently, by the early 1700s men (and a few women) were 'thinking like men in England, France, Holland and Germany'. It was with England, however, that they had most in common, although significantly, there was a growing interest in Scotland's history and antiquities. The Scots, it seemed, were growing in confidence. They had discovered a past and were searching for a future. ●



New only

He could sense

William of Orange was the grandson of William the Silent, the man who

secured the independence of The Netherlands from Spain. Despite a republican reaction against the House of Orange, William was appointed to his family's traditional offices of Captain-General and Stadholder in 1672, at a moment of national peril—namely, an invasion by the all-powerful Louis XIV of France.

For the next nine years William fought the French, and gained the reputation of being the outstanding Protestant general of his time.

William was to become King of England and King of Scots in 1689. He was a reasonably conscientious and successful King of England but he ignored Scotland as much as possible, and his Scots reign was a disaster. The reason for this contrast was that England could contribute quite a lot, and Scotland almost nothing, to the achievement of William's lifetime ambition: preserving the independence of his beloved Netherlands.

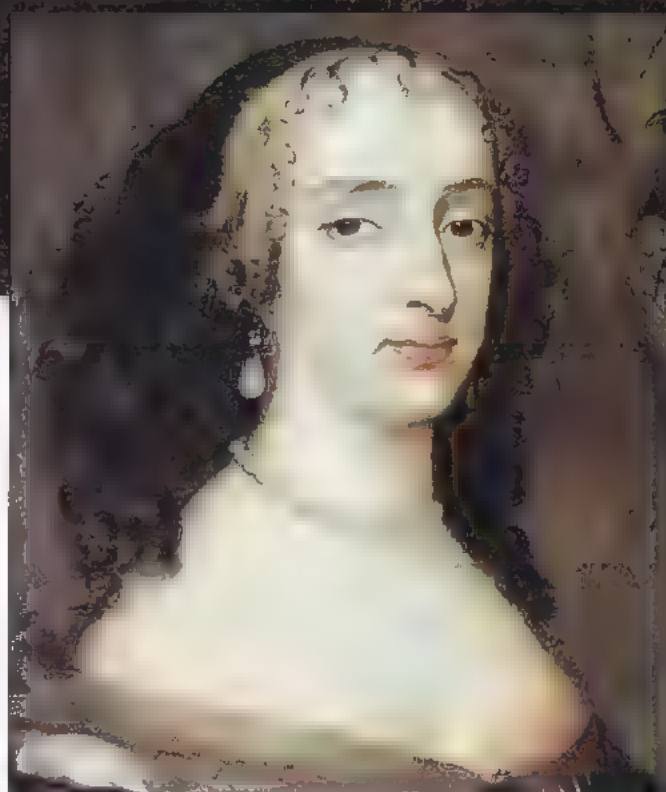
When William married his cousin Mary, daughter of the future James VII and II, in 1677 it was in a bid to get England to back him against the French. When he invaded England in 1688 it was for the same reason.

That William met no opposition by sea or land, that his father-in-law ran away, and that the English Parliament offered the throne to William and Mary were unlooked-for bonuses. English politicians would have preferred to offer the throne to Mary alone, but William made it clear that he was having none of that sort of nonsense.

In addition, the English Parliament had said the throne was vacant because King James had abdicated. This implied that William would inherit all the prerogative powers of his predecessor.

But Scotland had no part in the

■ William was a reasonably conscientious King of England, but he ignored Scotland as much as possible. He reckoned the former could help him keep The Netherlands independent, while the latter could offer little to that cause. Even the marriage to his cousin Mary (right), daughter of the future King James VII and II, was calculated to get England's backing against the French.



King of Scots who cared for Holland

that Scotland meant nothing but trouble – and it was

Revolution of 1689. The majority in the Scottish Parliament were prepared to follow England's lead in offering the throne to William and Mary, but they stated that the throne was vacant because King James had forfeited it. This implied a contractual relationship between a king and his people (quite an old idea in Scotland, since some historians would trace it back to the Declaration of Arbroath of 1320) and William might in certain circumstances be accused, as James had been, of breaking his contract.

Perhaps already William could sense that Scotland would be nothing but trouble.

For much of his reign he was locked in yet another war with France. He did of course win a great triumph against his father-in-law at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690.

What's not always realised is that on that occasion the Pope, Innocent XI, was backing William against King James and, by extension, the Pope's enemy in European politics, Louis XIV of France. Life is never a simple matter of Orange and Green.

Scotland provided William with more trouble in 1690. Malcontents in the Scottish Parliament compelled him to restore a Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and therefore one less amenable to royal control.

They also compelled him to abolish the Committee of Articles, the device by which kings had stage-managed their Parliaments.

From now on, the system of patronage, of bestowing gifts and favours that was to develop throughout the 18th century, would have to be used for that purpose.

In 1692 Scotland gave William still more trouble, as a result of the massacre of Glencoe, which alienated many Highlanders, whether Jacobite or not, from the government.

Most people now believe that King William signed the order for

the massacre without reading it, and the chief villain of the affair was the Master of Stair.

Stair was sacked from his post, but not until 1695. No action was taken against anyone else. This echoes William's conduct 20 years before, when he made no attempt to prosecute the murderers of his political critics John and Cornelius de Witt.

William may not have had blood on his hands on either occasion, but he was utterly ruthless in pursuit of his objectives.

From 1695 onwards, Scotland provided William with yet more problems. As King of Scots, he permitted the setting-up of the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies. As King of England, he then proceeded to knock it down.

When the Company of Scotland tried to raise capital in England and abroad, the City of London said that this couldn't be allowed, and if William wanted to keep on fighting France, he had to listen to the City.

When the Company tried to establish a colony in Central America, William couldn't allow that either – if the delicate balance of power in Europe was to be preserved.

The Company collapsed, and the bells of Edinburgh played a cynical popular tune of the time, 'Wilful Wilhe, Wilt Thou be Wilful Still?'

William could be portrayed as a victim of that strange arrangement, the 'Union of the Crowns', in which Scotland was run from England.

In fact, England was probably no closer to his heart than Scotland was. Everything else was

■ Medal minted to celebrate the wedding of William and Mary in 1677.

subordinated to his efforts to protect his homeland.

William was a reserved and aloof man – though his wife loved him. When he departed for his invasion of England, he told Mary to marry again if he didn't come back alive. She replied: "I have never loved any man but you and I should never know how to love another."

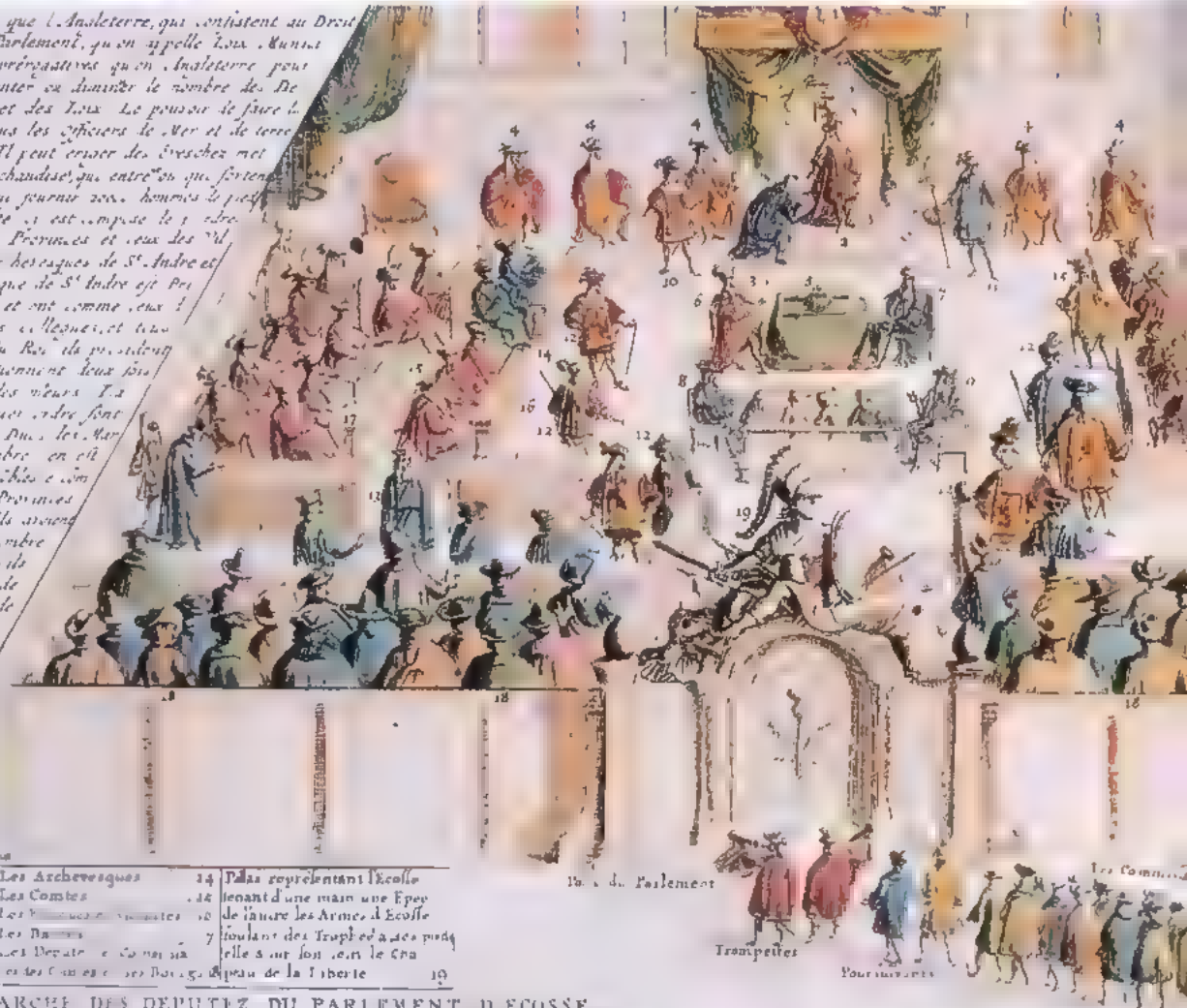
His ability to relax in the company of a few male friends led to the belief

that he was gay – though he probably wasn't. The young Dutchman, Arnold Joost van Keppel, about whose relationship with William there were rumours, was probably the son William never had.

William was a two-dimensional figure – purely and simply a Dutch patriot. He would probably have settled for that epitaph, and the Dutch people were lucky that he appeared when he did. ●



se gouverne à peu près par les mêmes loix que l'Angleterre, qui consistent au Droit
 des Ordonnances des Rois, et aux Loix du Parlement, qu'on appelle Loix Munies
 de l'Autorité Royale sur l'Église à les mêmes prérogatives qu'en Angleterre pour
 proroger ou dissoudre le Parlement, augmenter ou diminuer le nombre des Re-
 présentans. Il est l'ame de la Justice et des Loix. Le pouvoir de faire la
 paix est uniquement entre ses mains, tous les officiers de Mer et de terre
 de lui et avec les forces du Royaume. Il peut créer des Evêques, met-
 tre des évêques et des doctes sur toute sorte de Marchandises, qu'on appelle qui forment
 le Royaume. Il peut encore abuser ses Sujets, du jour au lendemain, hommes de pied
 de l'Église. Le Parlement qui lui représente, est composé de 3 Écclésiastiques
 de la Noblesse, le Clergé des Députés des Provinces et ceux des Villes.
 Les Bourgeois de chaque ville est représenté par les 4 Evesques de St. Andrew et
 et par les Evesques du Royaume. L'Archevesque de St. Andrew est Pri-
 vileged. Les Evesques sont Pères du Royaume et ont comme ceux
 de l'Église les Cours particulières ou ils ont des fins, et les Evesques, et tous
 s'expriment en leur nom et non en celui du Roi, du Parlement
 des Provinces, le leur Provinces qui se tiennent deux fois
 l'année et en Octobre par la réformation des vœux. La
 est divisée en deux classes, ceux du Premier ordre sont
 seigneurs ou les Barons du Royaume qui sont les Ducs, les Mar-
 quis, les Comtes et les Barons, le nombre en est
 assez grand qu'en Angleterre. La Seconde Noblesse est
 les Petits Barons qui sont les Nobles que les Provinces
 ont par assister en leur nom au Parlement. Ils ont
 le droit de proposer, et de voter sur tout ce qui est
 proposé, qu'ils s'abaissent, mais la grande dépense qu'ils
 ont de faire les robes et autres, et qu'ils ne peuvent
 supporter, se qui leur fut enlevé par un acte de
 par lequel le Roi leur enleva la liberté de se
 proposer ou de voter des Députés, mais en révo-
 quer, ils perdirent le Droit de voter par leur ne-
 gociation, le malheur des vœux, et de se
 pour établir l'union, et se du Couronne
 Jacques I^{er} ordonna qu'il n'y eût plus de
 deux nobles à la fois, et que les
 et qu'ils auroient deux, au lieu de trois
 nobles de Petits Barons, et de deux
 nobles des Comtes, et de deux
 nobles du Parlement par les Rois, et les nobles et
 nobles. Lors qu'il plait au Roi de convoquer.



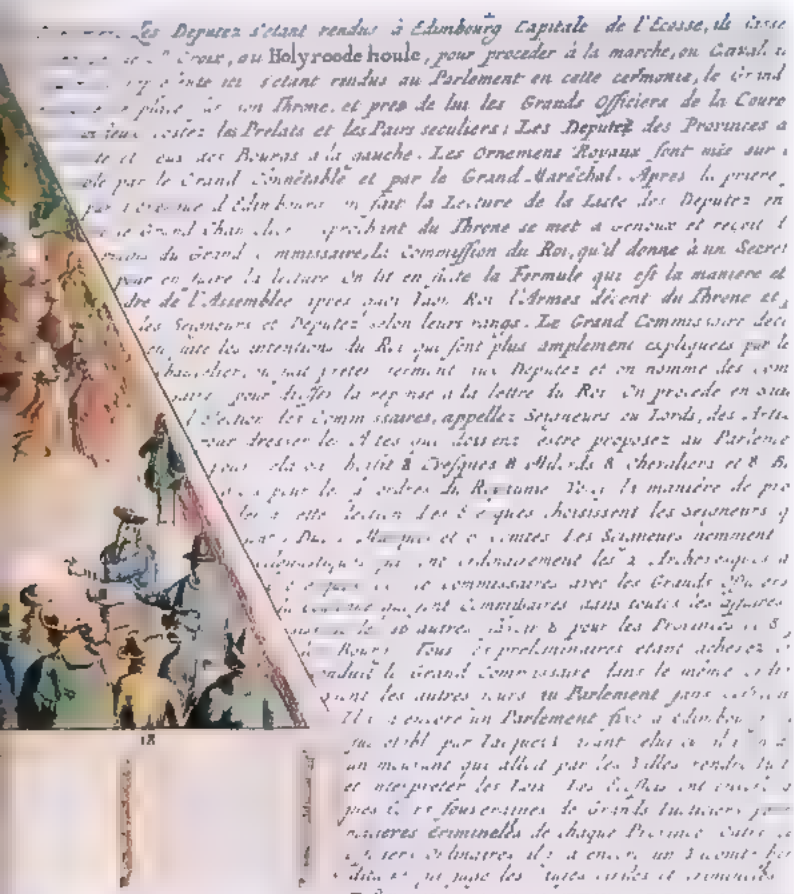
- | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 Le Grand Maréchal | 7 Les Archevêques | 14 Palais représentant l'Écclie |
| 2 Le Grand Écuyer | 8 Les Comtes | 15 tenant d'une main une Épée |
| 3 Le Grand Trésorier | 9 Les Vices Comtes | 16 de l'autre les Armes d'Écclie |
| 4 Le Grand Secrétaire | 10 Les Barons | 17 tenant des Trepieds à des pieds |
| 5 Le Grand Chambellan | 11 Les Députés | 18 tenant sur son sein le Cro |
| 6 Les Représentans des Villes | 12 Les Députés des Comtes | 19 tenant de la Liberté |

L'ORDRE DE LA MARCHÉ DES DEPUTÉZ DU PARLEMENT D'ECOSSE

LORS QU'ILS VONT ET REVIENTENT LE PREMIER JOUR DE LEUR ASSEMBLÉE AU PARLEMENT



■ The only known depiction of the first Scottish Parliament in session is this French engraving known as 'The Downsitting of the Scottish Parliament'.



Muzzled because it bared its teeth

The early Scottish Parliament was a force for kings to reckon with, and a nuisance to those in Government. Little wonder they wanted rid of it

The Scottish Parliament can be traced back to the 1290s, just before the Wars of Independence broke out. It was a meeting of the King's leading subjects, acting mainly as the supreme court of law. Nobles and bishops and abbots were there, people who by feudal law held their land directly from the King.

In the course of the 14th century, the scope of Parliament's business widened, and representatives of the royal burghs also began to attend.

Being snobs, the nobles and bishops and abbots didn't exactly welcome them. But Parliament now had the extra job of voting taxes, and since the merchants in the burghs had wealth in the form of cash, it was as well to include them.

Nobles, churchmen and burgesses the 'three estates' mentioned in the title of Sir David Lyndsay's

16th-century play. Later, representatives of landowners who weren't nobles were added to Parliament. Three estates or four? It didn't much matter, since they sat and voted together, not in separate rooms as at Westminster.

The one thing that the King's leading subjects, assembled in Parliament, were not expected to do was to set up check to the king.

In many European kingdoms in the later middle Ages, parliaments were established. In the 17th century, many of these withered away or were abolished. Two Parliaments – those of England and Sweden – grew in power and began to contest the power of the King.

The Scots Parliament merely hung on, careful in normal times not to set up check to the king. But, especially in the 1640s, times in Scotland were far from normal.

Once he came of age in the 1580s, King James VI sometimes had trouble with Parliament, and with the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland which, to begin with, was really Parliament wearing a different hat. But James was shrewd, and once he became James I of England as well, in 1603, he had extra leverage.

In 1618 he unveiled his plans for ritual in church, which many Scots opposed. He forced these plans through the General Assembly and through Parliament.

Being shrewd, however, he didn't enquire too closely into whether they were actually being carried ►

When he succeeded in 1625, Charles I showed little desire to consult Parliament, either in Scotland or in England.



out. Still, the storm clouds were gathering.

In a sense, the 17th-century kings of Scots were what we would now call 'control freaks'. Parliament was dominated by the Committee of Articles, elected by a complex process in which the King's supporters would always be in a majority.

In theory, this committee merely drew up an agenda for Parliament. In practice, it put forward proposals which Parliament merely rubber stamped.

Charles I, when he succeeded in 1625, showed little desire to consult Parliament, either in Scotland or in England. Charles's personality might well have led to quarrels with most of his leading subjects in any case.

But it didn't help that he was an absentee King of Scots, living in London and reliant on Scots advisers who told him only what he wanted to hear.

In 1633, rather late in the day, Charles showed up in Edinburgh to be crowned and was graciously pleased to call a meeting of Parliament. He then spoiled things by turning up in person, to check that people were voting the way he wanted.

Five years later, by a series of gigantic miscalculations of Scottish opinion, Charles had provoked a revolutionary mood in Scotland, and had started the process that led to his being executed in London in 1649. The revolt started outside the framework of Parliament, when Scots nobles and other politicians, advised by clever churchmen, drew up the National Covenant of 1638, behind which opponents of the King could rally.

The General Assembly of that year (the last one until the 1990s to meet in Glasgow), and the Parliament of the following year, declared the office of bishop abolished.

Scotland was out of the King's control – so much so that, in the next two years, Charles would have made war on his Scottish subjects if he had had the funds.

By 1641 the Scottish Revolution had made big strides. Parliament deprived the King of the right to choose the members of his Scottish government. Charles was on such a slippery slope that he had to agree to this, and the following year he found himself pitched into a civil war with his English Parliament as well.

In Scotland, the Covenanters operated a revolutionary regime, where Parliament and the General Assembly of the Kirk imposed

Presbyterianism on the people. The Scots Parliament mobilised army after army to defeat the King.

Sweden, around the same time, was a nation under arms, following its warrior king, Gustaf II Adolf.

But Scotland was a nation under arms against its King. Egged on by some fiery ministers and elders in the General Assembly, Parliament began to take the Scottish Revolution further than some of its early leaders would have wished.

In 1638 the Scots nobles had taken the lead in trying to restrain the actions of an absentee king. In 1649 the Scottish Parliament went so far as to deprive the biggest landowner in each parish of his sole right to choose the parish minister.

It wasn't just the powers of the King that were now under threat.

But if Charles I lost the civil wars of the 1640s, so too did the Scots.

In the 1650s Scotland was an occupied country, sending its representatives to British Parliaments summoned by Oliver Cromwell. In 1660 the Cromwellian experiment collapsed, and back came Charles II, and a separate Scotland, with its own Parliament.

Charles II was too laid back to interfere unduly with his Scottish Parliament. He knew that the nobles who dominated it were loyal to him, and if he left them alone to feather their own nests, they wouldn't hassle him. In fact Parliament, under its commissioner, John, Earl of Middleton, was prepared to persecute the Covenanters, King Charles's religious opponents, more severely than he might have dared to hope.

Charles II seems to have enjoyed jokes, but to have been essentially cold-hearted. His years spent as a king in exile may help to explain this. He knew that the Scots Parliament, when it had been run by the Covenanters, had been a powerful engine of political and social change. If it was now going to behave itself, as his poodle in the north, he was well content.

In Charles II's reign the Scottish Parliament, mostly under the watchful eye of John, Earl and later Duke of Lauderdale, did mostly as it was told. Once more the Committee of Articles was the device used to keep Parliament muzzled.

But by the early 1670s there were mutterings of discontent. In 1674 the advocates, with support from the parliamentary opposition, went on strike. The strike was broken, but Lauderdale was minded never to call Parliament again. Charles's younger



■ Proclamation of Parliament (1649), declaring Charles II (left) as King of Scotland.

When Parliament relieved the big landowners of their 'sole right' to choose parish ministers, it was not just kingly powers that were now under threat

brother and heir James, Duke of York, later James VII and II — was a Catholic, and in 1681 the Scots Parliament was invited to pass an Act, saying that a Catholic could inherit the throne

This involved people in taking a complicated oath. The boys at Heriot's School offered a copy of the oath, smeared with butter, to the school bulldog, who declined to eat it. Whereupon they hanged the dog

What the dog wouldn't swallow, the Scottish Parliament did. But James had the knack possessed by his

father, Charles I, of antagonising those whose support was essential to him

He came to the throne in 1685, and there was no reason to think then that he would be deposed three years later (Though that, admittedly, was the work of William of Orange rather than of the English politicians, or still less of the Scottish ones)

In 1685 the Scots Parliament voted King James the excise for life and flatteringly told him that "this nation hath continued now upwards of two thousand years in the

unaltered form of our monarchical government, under the uninterrupted line of one hundred and eleven kings"

These kings, many of them fictional characters, had recently all had their portraits installed at Holyroodhouse, where they are still.

The kings, said the Scots Parliament, had ensured "our possessions defended from strangers, our civil commotions brought into wished events, our laws vigorously executed"

But in 1687 James asked Parliament to grant toleration to Scotland's Catholics. Then the Scottish Parliament began once more to set up cheek to the King

James barely got his toleration through the tame Committee of Articles. There was no chance of getting it through the full Parliament, and so he issued it on the strength of royal edict alone

The Scottish Parliament had again shown its teeth, and from 1688-9, when James was deposed, until 1707, when the Scottish Parliament was abolished, it proved itself such a nuisance to those in government that it's no wonder it was abolished

Now we have a Scottish Parliament again. Parliaments are meant to be a nuisance to those in government. Go for it, MSPs! ●

He's the ultimate man of many parts

He is one of Scotland's greatest modern entertainers – a true veteran who went from the fierce sink-or-swim culture of Glasgow music halls to become a television legend

Stanley Baxter is now well into his seventies, but he is respected as a comic genius who has so many talents that he must find it hard to decide how to use them all

Whether he is playing the part of a singer, impersonator, actor or pantomime dame, Baxter has always had a unique gift to connect with his audience but at the same time to hold them in the palm of his hand

This giant of stage and screen was born in the posh Glasgow suburb of Kelvinside, the son of an accountant

When the young Stanley showed promise as an entertainer at an early age, his father was appalled at the prospect of his son treading the boards for a living. He predicted that the lad had only a very small chance of surviving financially

Nevertheless, his mother had once tried to make a career for herself as an actress and Stanley wasn't about to give up. He managed to find work in the city's music halls, where he became highly popular, and soon made a name for himself alongside contemporaries such as Jimmy Logan and Rikki Fulton.

By 1959, Baxter had taken a crucial decision. He decided that rather than staying in Scotland, he would move down to the bright lights of London to seek work. He never looked back. He did some work as a straight actor, including a role alongside Sir Ralph Richardson in Joe Orton's controversial play *What The Butler Saw*, but his real skill was in comedy.

During a spell in the Army, Baxter had picked up experience of playing women in amateur theatre, and he refined his female characters for the small screen. He was an adventurer who wasn't afraid of pushing at the barriers – for instance, he was the first British comedian ever to publicly impersonate The Queen.

His characters were cheeky and

With his ability to be anyone, Stanley Baxter has swung up through the big-time jungle

hugely amusing and the public loved them. He quickly became a regular feature of British television, with his one-man shows commanding mass audiences. However, there was one huge problem. Baxter liked to use the technique of careful editing to play two characters at once and have them talking to each other. It made for innovative, gripping and very funny television, but it also cost a fortune. The problem was that he had to be made up to play all the different characters, while expensive camera crews were kept hanging around until they were needed to film the shots.

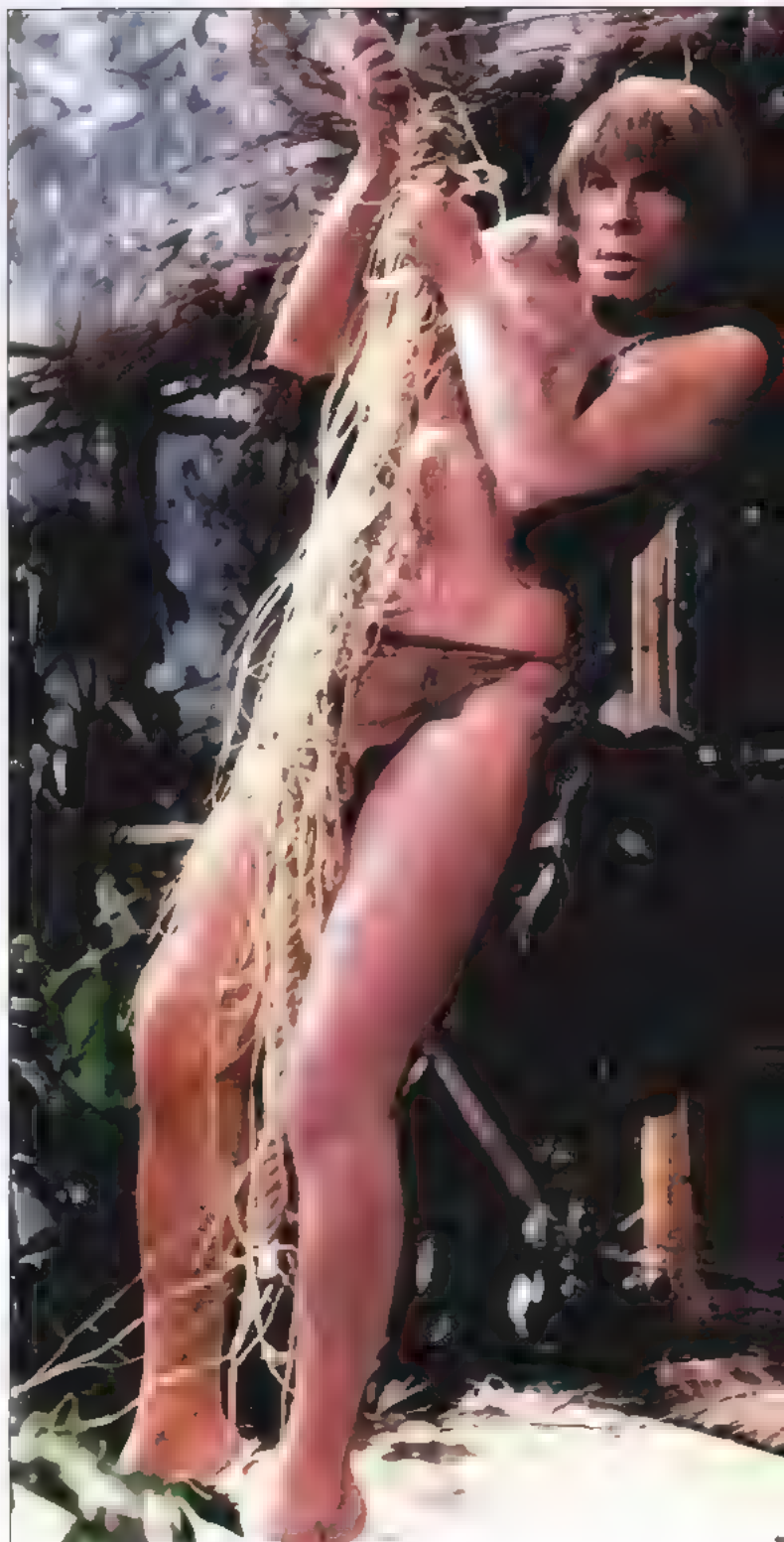
Baxter's Christmas shows became a national institution, but fashions changed in the Eighties and they were eventually dropped. Baxter himself continued for a while in pantomime before going into semi-retirement.

At the age of 73, he is currently back in the public eye providing the voices for the characters in the TV cartoon series about Maizie the Morningside cat. In the series, based on the books written by Aileen Paterson, he does no fewer than 70 different voices.

We're never likely to see much of the veteran entertainer outside of the parts he plays – ironically, he shuns the limelight and doesn't like talking much about his personal life.

He also suffers from an unusual medical condition which physically stops him from talking if he gets nervous, which means he can't appear on TV chat shows.

Nevertheless, he'll always be regarded as a great Scottish entertainer whose talents transcend all barriers of age and class. As he has said himself: "For a chap who's never had a proper job, I haven't done too badly." ●



■ Me Stanley: the comedian as Tarzan – just another of his character roles.



■ Ewan McGregor: now worth £5m.

EWAN THANKS HIS LUCKY STAR WARS

OVER the last few years, Ewan McGregor has established a reputation as one of Scotland's coolest and most talented actors. He starred with Rober Carlyle in 'Trainspotting', and his other film credits include 'Velvet Goldmine' and 'Star Wars: The Phantom Menace'.

He was born in Crieff. Though his father was a school PE teacher, acting was in the blood of his family: his uncle Denis Lawson was in both 'Local Hero' and the original 'Star Wars' trilogy. At the age of nine, Ewan decided he would also try to make his mark in the profession.

He was just 16 when he left home and went to nearby Perth to work with the town's Repertory Theatre. He then obtained a position at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama in London.

His big screen break came in 1992, when he was given the chance to play the leading role of Hopper in Dennis Potter's acclaimed television drama, 'Lipstick On Your Collar'. His first big film role – as Alvarez in Bill Forsyth's 'Being Human' – followed in 1992.

There was plenty of other work in TV programmes

such as 'Kavanagh QC', but the films which really built up McGregor's reputation, particularly at home, were the Scottish cult movies 'Shallow Grave' and 'Trainspotting', in which he played the smackhead anti-hero Mark Renton. The biggest breakthrough of all came when he was offered the role of Obi-Wan Kenobi in 'The Phantom Menace'. It was the film which finally brought him to the attention of the world, and is said to have made him £1 million.

He was one of 50 people chosen to audition for the part because they looked like a young Sir Alec Guinness, who played the role in the original film. But it was his sheer acting skill, and his relationship with the film's legendary creator George Lucas, which won him through.

Following his success in 'The Phantom Menace' and in other roles, Ewan McGregor is reckoned to be worth £5 million – and, incredibly, he is still aged only 29.

He now spends most of his life in London, secure in the knowledge that he is going to be hot acting property for a long time to come.

A talent you can't miss

Carlyle's intensity is always in demand

Robert Carlyle has emerged from early family tragedy to become one of Scotland's most talented and famous actors. The star of hit films such as 'The Full Monty' and 'Angela's Ashes' was born in Glasgow's tough Maryhill district, only a few streets away from the childhood home of Stanley Baxter, in 1961.

His mother walked out of the family home when he was a toddler, leaving his father to bring him up alone. Robert decided to leave school at 16 and spent time travelling with a hippy commune before trying painting and decorating.

But it was acting that really attracted him. In 1983, he gained a place at the famous Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama in Glasgow, and his remarkable talent began to show.

It led to him winning a role in Ken Loach's film 'Riff Raff' in 1991 – and going to Cannes to promote it was his

first trip abroad. The film started a meteoric career. He went on to work with Loach again in movies such as 'Carla's Song', and suddenly fame beckoned.

His performance as hardman Begbie in the hit film 'Trainspotting' brought much critical acclaim. Then 'The Full Monty' – a low-budget movie which went on to incredible success – pitched him into major international films such as 'The World Is Not Enough' and 'Angela's Ashes'.

His role as a Highland policeman in the popular BBC series 'Hamish MacBeth' also helped to raise his profile.

Why has he been so successful? Don't ask him, because the off-screen Carlyle doesn't reveal his thoughts. But the intensity and seriousness he brings to his roles are undoubtedly major factors.

When not working, Carlyle lives in Glasgow, where he relaxes, he says, by lying in bed until lunchtime and watching TV game shows. Not that he ever has long to wait until the next movie offer.



■ Ubiquitous: Robert Carlyle as Highland PC Hamish MacBeth.

WHERE A MERMAID DIED ON A BEACH

■ Fisherfolk had many superstitions, one of which made them turn back from sea.



In centuries past, the local minister in a fishing community was a strangely contradictory figure. On the one hand, he was respected for the dignity of his calling, his leadership and learning. But on the other hand, he was just bad luck. For even among the most God-fearing of fisher families – although they attended church, professing their Christian faith and honouring their man of the cloth – old pagan superstitions died hard.

In the Easter Ross villages along the north shore of the Cromarty Firth, it was regarded as very bad luck for a fisherman to meet a minister while on the way to his boat. If this happened, the fisherman had to step off the road and go another way. The churchman probably knew that – along with other creatures such as salmon, rabbit, hare and pig – he would never be mentioned by crewmen at sea.

But he was not alone among two-legged harbingers of bad fortune, for neither did fishermen on their way to sea like to come across disabled people or those with flat feet. Meeting a woman could be a problem too, but the fisher could avert disaster by being the one to speak first.

Certain women in the community, though, were regarded as such bad omens that fisherman would turn for home immediately and refuse to go to sea that day. Fishermen and their families were the most superstitious of all working-class communities. This was doubtless because theirs was a perilous way to win a living, in which the men at sea and their families on land could be pitched into tragedy at the whim of the elements.

In Fife, coal miners looked down on fisherfolk as 'superstitious'. But that seems ironic, as the mining

communities had many superstitions of their own. It's curious, too, that some men would work at both trades, on the sea or under ground, according to seasons or available employment, and would therefore observe both sets of beliefs.

The fishing communities along the East Neuk of Fife seemed to share many superstitions with their northern counterparts. The minister would never be mentioned at sea, but also for some reason the Fifers would never refer to the porpoise. They also had a special aversion to pigs, particularly sows, and even at

pearl? Their voices could be heard in the sighing of the shore breeze as they reclined on remote beaches or rocky outcrops. Fishermen said they could recognise them by their reddish-yellow curly hair and the wreaths of seaweed over their shoulders.

As late as 1949, fishermen in Kinlochbervie reported that they had spotted 'merfolk' on an offshore rock and this report was taken quite seriously. The background to such stories is the belief that some seals had a mysterious connection to humans and were able to assume

Ministers, pigs and certain women scared superstitious fishers. But the Benbecula 'sea maiden' was special

the beginning of the 20th century small boys would shout out of devilment to an outgoing boat: 'Son's tail to ye!' This was bound to get the crew in a rage, which was the idea.

At Buckhaven around that time, a folklore researcher talked to a local man who admitted that, as a lad, he had thrown a pig's tail aboard an outgoing fishing boat which had immediately turned round and returned to harbour.

Most seamen, including fishers, had a special respect for seals who were regarded as 'merfolk', the people of the seas. As the sailors of past ages were almost all male, whose work took them away from their womenfolk, most of their fantasies saw seals as female, or mermaids, who lived "fathoms deep beneath the waves, stringing beads of glistening

human form. To kill a seal would be to risk the most dreadful bad luck, and seals caught in fishermen's nets were released instantly to avert 'death spells'.

At one time in North Uist, there was a sect known as Clann is Codrum nan ron, or the MacCodrums of the Seals, said to be descended from enchanted seals who came ashore. On the Hebridean island of Benbecula, now connected by causeway to North Uist, there was a mermaid's grave in the burial ground at Nunton. This was told to folklorist writer R Macdonald Robertson as late as the 1960s, though he was told the creature's funeral took place around 1830.

The islanders, who were both fishers and crofters, had been cutting kelp for fertiliser on the seashore and the sea was very calm. The sound of a splash made one woman look up, and

her cry brought the others running.

They saw a 'sea maiden', a woman in miniature, playing in the water by splashing and turning somersaults. Some of the men waded out and tried unsuccessfully to capture her. One 'wretched boy' threw a stone which struck the creature, who then disappeared. A few days later, the 'mermaid' was washed ashore dead, two miles from where she had been first seen. The islanders gathered sadly to examine her. She was described as 'about the size of a well-fed child of around four years, with abnormally developed breasts. The hair was long, dark and glossy and the skin was white, soft and tender. The body's lower part was like a salmon, but without scales.'

One of the unusual aspects of this story was that crowds came from afar to look at the creature on the beach. This makes the mermaid anecdote different from the usual tales of sea creatures, or loch monsters, spotted by one or two people in a fleeting instant and rarely or never seen again. But what happened finally gives the story a strange stamp of authenticity.

The dead creature was seen by the Clanranald factor Duncan Shaw, who was also the local baron bailie and sheriff. Such people in authority were hardly moved by superstition or sentiment. Shaw ordered that the mermaid should be wrapped in a shroud and properly buried in a coffin. This suggests his belief that the creature was at least part-human, and deserved a proper funeral.

The burial was attended by a large group of mourners. It was an occasion when folklore spilled over into reality. ●

MOUNTAINS THAT SAW SLAUGHTER



Even after the awful Massacre of Glencoe, this branch of Clan MacDonald stayed on in its wild homeland, says biker historian David Ross

Glencoe is probably the most famous glen in Scotland, not only for the massacre, but for its use as a mountain playground. Like so many others, I have had memorable days scrambling its many peaks and ridges, but many would probably be surprised that a modern motor road did not approach from the south until the 1930s, thereby superseding the old military road.

Crossing Rannoch Moor and passing the Kingshouse, Scotland's oldest inn, most people look at the Rannoch Wall of mighty Buachaille Etive Mor and assume it is the gateway into Glencoe, but to our ancestors, Glencoe did not really start until you had passed the famous waterfall at the Study a few miles further west, and started to descend into the base of the glen.

The name 'Etive' in Buachaille Etive Mor, and its near neighbour Buachaille Etive Beag, gives a clue to this. The original inhabitants thought of them as belonging to Glen Etive, on the far side of these hills. Although in this part of the glen the base is quite bare of trees, there is no monotony, as your eyes are constantly drawn to the mountain-tops over 3,000 feet above. The southern side of the glen is dominated by Bidean nam Bian, the highest mountain in Argyll and its projecting spurs, affectionately known as the Three Sisters.

The northern side of the glen is enclosed by the Aonach Aegach (the Notched Ridge), a three-mile-long wall whose top gives a great scramble.

The glen was originally dotted with a dozen or so villages, and the massacre started through pre-arranged stealth.

There is a famous Signal Rock in the glen, and it is a popular misconception that some sort of signal was given at this spot to begin the slaughter. But the Macdonalds of Glencoe – or, more specifically, MacLains – inhabited several miles of glen and this would have been impossible.

This Signal Rock was actually the old clan gathering place that was used in



■ Loch Leven, near the mouth of the glen, where MacLain lies on a burial isle.

emergencies and times of trouble. It stands close to the modern information centre that has been built to deal with more and more visitors. Nearby stands the Clachaig, an old inn, much favoured by climbers. This establishment still bears a sign on its door stating 'No Hawkers or Campbells'.

At the mouth of the glen stands the old village of Carnoch, though everyone today seems to refer to it as Glencoe or Glencoe village. At the old bridge here over the River Coe, a side road runs 100 metres or so to a hillock on which stands a slender cross. It bears the legend: 'In memory of MacLain, Chief of Glencoe, who fell with his people in the massacre of Glen Coe'.

MacLain was buried on Eilean Munde. This ancient burial isle can be seen in Loch Leven, just opposite the mouth of the glen. Gravestones can be seen dotted upon it. Many clans used such islands as burial places and perhaps this was a throwback to the times when wolves and suchlike wandered these hills, and bodies had to be protected from being dug up.

Or perhaps this island had a 'holy'

connection, with many of the early saints having been based on islands.

Many massacres took place in Scotland, some far more serious – in numbers at least – than the one that took place here. But I think the reason Glencoe has remained in the forefront of our consciousness is summed up succinctly in the words of W. H. Murray:

"The three points that have appalled the people of our country for 300 years are the cold-blooded planning of mass murder as a matter of public policy by men of responsible position in government; their treacherous abuse of the victims' hospitality as a deliberately chosen means; and the approval of all this by the King, even though not a man of our race."

Even the massacre did not sweep the MacLains from this area. They fought bravely at the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745.

It was the evictions and the introduction of sheep that eventually broke the back of their kinship, and now their descendants are scattered over the face of the planet. ●

Grand tours don't stop at Scotland

History and tradition lies around the bend of every Scottish road. Glens, woods and plains which were once the scene of great battles; castles which have watched the centuries pass; magnificent and mysterious lochs in which the country's trials and tragedies have been reflected.

There is no better way of seeing this grand natural heritage than through the window of a luxury coach. As you sit back, the glories of the greatest natural landscape in Europe with its thousands of years of history pass effortlessly by and the nation's story unfolds before you.

Of course, there is more to Scotland than history, and more to exploring its heritage than watching the scenery pass. A coach holiday should also mean excellent company, accommodation, and food – in other words, a break to treasure.

No-one knows more about delivering high-quality holidays than David Urquhart Travel. Over the last 17 years, the East Kilbride-based company has grown to the point where it is now Britain's biggest privately-owned operator of coach breaks. It provides superb holidays not just in Scotland's remote and beautiful corners but in other parts of Britain and Europe. Whether you want to go to Shetland or Spain, it will take you.

When the company was founded in 1983, it immediately made Scotland's scenery and history accessible by providing stylish, comfortable holidays which made exploration of the Highlands a luxury and a pleasure.

The very first trip took 44 passengers on a three-day break for the princely sum of just £33. At that time, founder David Urquhart worked alone from a tiny two-apartment flat. Today, it's a very different story – the firm employs 140 staff in modern offices in East Kilbride, as well as indirectly employing thousands more in the 200 hotels and the 200 coaches it regularly uses.

While the firm has grown to the point where it has carried more than 1.5 million passengers, it still has the same philosophy as it did when it took its first people to the Highlands – to provide outstanding value for money, with a friendly service, reliable coaches and good hotels.

How has the firm always managed to combine high standards with surprisingly low prices? By constantly monitoring and improving on quality, while cutting out the middleman and selling directly to the public.

David Urquhart's value-for-money tours have allowed many thousands of Scots to discover the beauty and history of their own country.

Villages such as Newtonmore, Kingussie, Strathpeffer, Grantown-on-Spey, Dornoch and Ullapool have been put on the tourist trail, and visits to islands such as Skye and Mull offered as part of affordable holiday packages. And it wasn't

David Urquhart started with the Highlands, but drove on to distant parts

just Scotland that saw the advent of high-quality coach travel: the company expanded into traditional resorts in England and Wales, too. And demand for David Urquhart Travel holidays has continued to grow.

"Sales have increased every year since 1983," says David. "Traditional holidays to the Highlands and Islands and to English resorts are as popular as ever, but the range of holidays is ever developing."

"For instance, we have city breaks to London, York, Bath, Belfast, Dublin, Amsterdam and Prague, and mini cruises to Amsterdam, Norway, Orkney, Shetland and Spain. We also have feature breaks to Eurodisney, Alton Towers, Granada Studios, Beamish, the Beatles Experience and Buckingham Palace, as well as flower shows and theatre breaks to London's West End to see Mamma Mia or the Lion King. Our current favourite tour, Ooh La La Paris, features the legendary Paris nightclub La Belle Epoque."

David says customers also enjoy Continental tours to places like the Rhine Valley, Ostend, Brussels and Bruges, Heidelberg and the Black Forest, the Austrian Tyrol, Tuscany, Rome and Florence, Lake Garda and Venice and Switzerland.

Ireland, too, is an increasingly popular holiday destination, with holidays to magical and historic destinations such as the Ring of Kerry, Donegal, Counties Mayo and Galway, Cork and Waterford.

David Urquhart Travel is proud of its Scottish origins and ownership – but it is also delighted to offer trips to destinations across Britain, Europe and the wider world.

And you don't have to be Scots to enjoy a David Urquhart holiday – this year, its tours are departing from more than 70 towns and cities across the UK.

As the firm continues to grow – it expects to



■ David Urquhart: a big wheel in the coach-tour business.

carry 200,000 holidaymakers in the year 2000 alone – so it is continuing to expand its horizons. A new company, David Urquhart Sky Travel, has been launched, offering flight packages to places such as Dublin, Jersey and the Isle of Man.

The company also acts as an agent for ABTA and ATOL bonded operators, and so is able to promote exotic holidays to India, Thailand, Nashville, Memphis, America's Golden West, New England and New York. Other destinations include Las Vegas, Palm Springs, Toronto, Niagara Falls, Australia, and China.

As well as land and air, David Urquhart Travel is now able to offer holidays by sea – and luxurious ones, at that.

Along with Cunard, it is promoting cruises on vessels such as the QE2, Legendary Mediterranean and Iberian Serenade.

It's a Scottish company, then, which is making history – and waves – in more ways than one. ●

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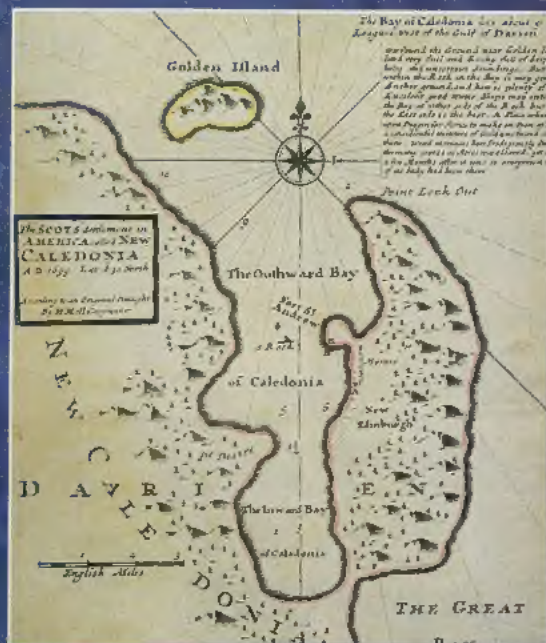
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SCOTLAND'S STORY

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THE DARIEN DISASTER



It was meant to solve Scotland's economic troubles but the attempt to found a colony on the isthmus of Panama turned out to be a financial disaster with far-reaching consequences. Lives as well as fortunes were lost... and Scotland had to come to terms with England's commercial muscle

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